SOCIAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

No. 1.

The Unemployable AND The Unemployed.

BY

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FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION.

In the Month of May, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree visited me in order that we might confer together on the question of the Unemployed, which interested us both. At the close of a long morning's conference, he asked me if I would dictate to his secretary what I had said in our conversation. I gladly assented. Accordingly I dictated what now appears in this pamphlet to his secretary, who reproduced four copies of it. These copies have been read by several friends, and at the desire of some of these, what they read is now printed for circulation. I have added a few notes confirmatory and explanatory of what appears in the text.

J. B. PATON.

NOVEMBER, 1904.

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THE UNEMPLOYABLE AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

1. The Unemployable.

AMONG the Unemployed of our time whose misfortune and poverty awaken sympathy and call for statesmanlike measures that may bring them relief, we must distinguish and separate those who are unemployable and therefore unemployed. Now of the great class of the Unemployable, there are six differing types or categories, each of which needs different treatment.

1. Our Adult Epileptics. Much has been done during the last three or four years for the care of epileptic children, especially those who were immured in our Workhouses and brought up there in the Infirmary and Senile Wards. Now also the Local Education Authorities in all parts of the country are called to fulfil their responsibility for the education of the epileptic children who may be found in their districts. For this purpose they are invited to send these children to the Lingfield and Starnthwaite Homes, respectively in Surrey and Westmoreland, which will it is hoped be certified by the Board of Education to receive such children.* Or they will in other cases, provide suitable Homes in their

* These Homes are now certified.

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own districts for these children. I say "Homes," because it will be found that whilst in the case of many epileptic children, their affliction is so slight and the fits occur so seldom, that they can attend the ordinary schools, there are other children who suffer so severely from epilepsy that they will never be able to attend the ordinary schools, and will require for their education, very special treatment in the training of their body, as well as in the training of their mind and character. These afflicted children, therefore, will need to be gathered together in Homes, where they will receive from the Education Authorities a training that is suitable for them. The experience already obtained in Lingfield and Starnthwaite shews that if such children are brought under wise treatment at an early stage, some of them may be permanently cured, and a majority of them are likely to be so improved in health, that if trained in suitable industries, they will be able to earn at least a part of their livelihood in after life.

But when we speak of the Unemployable we are not thinking of epileptic children, but of Adult Epileptics. Many of these may be rightly classified as unemployable, although some of them doubtless are engaged in light and occasional work of various kinds. There are some Adult Epileptics in our Workhouses, but the majority of them are found in the homes of the poor, where often, even if they are carefully tended, they are a heavy burden and sore trial to their families, and where sometimes it is feared they suffer pitiful ill-usage. Now for these Epileptic Adults who are unemployable, there must be formed special Colonies where all the

arrangements of the Colony shall be adjusted to the needs of these sufferers; where they can be employed in healthy outdoor labour that will be varied and full of interest, and that will not require much energy of the brain, so as to fatigue them; where at the same time there will be bright social recreation and fellowship and educational advantages; and where, above all, there will be wise sympathy in the treatment of their malady, and the joy of a religious influence which is full of love and peace. In such a Colony, whilst the chief labour ought to be out of doors on the land, as being not only most conducive to health, but also as affording many kinds of industry in which Epileptics can safely engage; there must also be, for inclement days and for long winter evenings, indoor industries that are safe and suited to their capacity. By their own work in such a Colony no doubt much of the food of the Colony could be produced, and part, at any rate, of the cost of the Colony will be provided.

2. The Feeble-Minded. What I have said with regard to Epileptics applies word for word to the Feeble-Minded. It is sad to think of the lot of many of the Feeble-Minded in our towns and country villages and of the hardships and sometimes the ignominy to which they are exposed. It is painful too, to think that in many homes, the Feeble-Minded are not only a heavy charge upon the scanty income of the poor, but give rise there to special anxiety, and create perils both physical and moral to the community. There are many of these Feeble-Minded kept at considerable expense in our Workhouses; and there are, it is believed, some

of them in our County Asylums, where, at great cost to the State they are confined and treated with the insane: all these could under other conditions, and other treatment which would be much less costly, contribute something by their labour to their cost of maintenance.

For these Feeble-Minded, as for the Epileptic, special Colonies must be formed in which they can be engaged in healthy, and especially in outdoor industries, suited to them, and where also, they can be taught to cultivate their mental faculties, in the most helpful and pleasant ways. For them as for Epileptics, there needs to be not only suitable and profitable industries organized, but bright social interests and amusements provided which will quicken their intelligence and give them somewhat of happiness and home life.

With regard to these two classes of the Unemployable, everyone who considers the problem of their life will agree that they must be segregated and kept apart in the Colonies that are provided for them. Life there must be made as pleasant and as profitable as it can be made. They are the invalid brothers and sisters of the great family of the commonwealth, and they should have therefore, the special and loving care which their sorrowful malady demands. But the community, to protect itself against the perpetuation of their malady which is hereditary, and in order to keep the race as a whole, healthy both in mind and body, must, as a first and paramount duty to itself as well as to them, secure their permanent separation from others. This can be done in Colonies where they may be freely and frequently visited by their friends and relations

under wise regulations, and where, too, their lot must be made as healthful and happy as it can be, but yet where they are kept apart and so prevented from marriage and from perpetuating their hereditary nervous ailment.

The Homes that have been opened by the Christian Union for Social Service at Lingfield and Starnthwaite for Epileptic Children, and by the Metropolitan Asylums Boards in London and by Miss Dendy in Lancashire, have drawn attention to the special educational needs of this class of children. These Homes however, being for children only, accentuate the problem which we are now considering. These Epileptic and Feeble-Minded Children will soon be Epileptic and Feeble-Minded Adults and will thus swell the ranks of the Unemployable.

The other four classes of the Unemployable belong to a wholly different type and category. They are unemployable because they are at present unfit for employment, but they are such as, by the adoption of wise methods pursued and made effective during periods of time that will vary in different cases, can be, in a great majority of cases, made fit for work and so can be restored to honest self-support and thus to independence and self-respect.

(A) Youths who are physically unfit for work but who, by healthy training especially on the land, can be made fit for work. At Lingfield and at Starnthwaite we have received numbers of such youths from the Workhouses. They have been born and bred in the slums of our cities; they have suffered from the curse of an evil heredity—children it may be, of weak and

drunken parents. What a doom seemed to be upon them from their birth! Living in shockingly unsanitary homes, they are stunted in growth, and seem old and outworn in their very youth. They have not strength enough for ordinary unskilled labour and they have not the physical or mental capacity for skilled work, even if they had the opportunity of learning it. Yet it is marvellous what can be done for such youths as these. At the Training Colonies at Lingfield and Starnthwaite, living in a country home with its sweet country air and its wholesome food, exercising their body in healthy and varied work in the open field, or in some simple manual work indoors, they become within a few months transfigured and are scarcely recognisable. They grow in bulk and stature and become fit for a hard day's work. Eighteen of them a few weeks ago were despatched to Canada, who are certain at once to receive there a wage that will maintain them and enable them to save something by which they may become occupiers and tillers of the land.

Now this being so, should there not be at once a Colony established in every county in which all these youths from our Workhouses, and others who may be like them, wholly unfit for any regular and honest employment, shall be received for training under those conditions of healthy country life and labour, which will assuredly build up their body and discipline their mind, so that they will enter the ranks of the Employed and not swell the ragged troops of the Unemployable. In their case much the same kind of discipine as is given in our Reformatories will be required; but instead of going under compulsory

restraint because convicted under a magistrate's order, they would enter under Indentures like those of apprenticeship, and thus be bound over for a number of years to receive the training that would fit them for honest and honourable work in life. And certainly it will be more economical for the State thus to provide for their well-being and prepare them for self-support in the future, than to support them in an aimless and fruitless way as the regular inmates, or the so-called "Ins" and "Outs," of the Workhouse.

(B) There is a larger class however than the last to whom special attention must be paid, because in our modern town and city life they are increasing in number and form a very large proportion of those who are rightly designated the Unemployable. I refer to the great number of children—boys and girls—of our poorer classes who are often irregular in school attendance because of the frequent migration of their parents or from other causes (1); who leave school at the earliest opportunity; who are not apprenticed to any regular trade, because apprenticeship is now almost obsolete; who do not enter a workshop or factory in which they may learn a regular trade; and who because of truant and vagrant tastes they have already formed, or because their parents insist that they shall begin at once to earn more money than they can earn at any trade during the first year or two, betake themselves to many kinds of casual employment as errand boys, or as hawkers and vendors of papers, etc. in the streets; and who, accordingly, during their youth do not form the habit of regular work or acquire the taste for it.(2) Such youths, when they

(1) See Note in Appendix I.
(2) See Note in Appendix I.

grow up, because of the poverty of their life are generally ill-fed and ill-clothed ; and though not sinking to the level of destitution that leads them to the Workhouse, they find for the most part casual employment in irregular ways, cadging for occasional service as porters and messengers or attendants on cabs ; or they compete in some kind of unskilled labour. They form thus a great company in every large town of those who, though not physically unfit like the former class, are yet incapable of strenuous work and who, by reason of the habits of their early life, have a profound distaste for regular and continuous work. The older of this class of the Unemployable are perhaps beyond redemption ; but there are numbers of this class who are still young growing up in our towns and the number is increasing : and for them there is but one way of redemption, and it is the same as that for the last named class. Coercion will I think, probably be needed with a great number of them ; but every inducement should be given to their parents and to their friends to send them into Colonies, which would be in fact, Industrial Training Schools, in which, receiving good food they will under kindly but firm discipline, be exercised in healthy labour and trained to definite employments. For the great majority of them, in order that their poor physique may be invigorated, the varied occupations of farm and country labour will be most suitable ; and it is by such labour that they will be trained for the varied and skilled occupations needed in English Agriculture. For men who are thus trained there is, at the present time, a great demand. Let us remember that whilst some of our industries may be over-crowded, our chief national industry is

under-manned and is being injured by the dearth of strong and skilful workmen. A Colony too, for youths of this kind who are often sharp in intelligence and therefore quick to learn, would be to a large extent self-supporting if it were conducted according to the economical and reasonable methods on which Lingfield and Starnthwaite Colonies are conducted ; certainly it can only be so if it be not cumbered and oppressed, by the interest paid on heavy capital expenditure in erecting grandiose buildings which are costly and most unsuitable, and by costly official administration.

(C) Another class of the Unemployable are our Inebriates and for them too, redemption seems possible, if they be healthily engaged in the varied outdoor and indoor work of a Training Farm Colony. These men are often the best workmen and they quickly turn and adjust themselves to some kinds of healthy work upon the land, by which the physical tone and vigour of their body are restored. Now that remedies are being made known which are so very successful in removing the terrible craving which so often seizes and overpowers the drunkard, and destroys for a time his self-control, there is no need for the drunkard to be put under detention as hitherto. (3) The Inebriate Retreat or Reformatory, which is licensed under the Inebriate Act, will not now generally be required, though there are cases where mental aberration and brain degeneracy may still require long confinement. In the Colony which the drunkard enters, he will at once be delivered from his uncontrollable appetite, and under the healthy conditions of the Colony as to diet

(3) See Note in Appendix I.

and labour, he will be in less time than has been hitherto considered necessary, restored to a normal state of body; and at the same time moral and religious influences, drawn from his companionship with the House Father and House Brothers of the Colony, will fortify his intelligence and his will against the temptations which will beset him when he leaves the Colony. It would be well that those who enter the Colony should band themselves for their mutual encouragement and protection on leaving it; and temperance workers should seek to safeguard them by helping them to new associations and interests in their after life. In this way many of those now unemployable because of Inebriety, will be restored to the ranks of the Employed.

(D) To this class belong those that probably form the largest section of the Unemployable, viz., the army of tramps and vagrants found in every part of the country—men and women—who are not incapable of work, but who have a deep-rooted dislike of work,—many of whom may be said to have a contempt for it or hatred of it. They may be tempted occasionally to engage in a short shift of work—but it must be short—and they habitually therefore depend upon charity, adopting the most astute and clever devices in soliciting and obtaining it, and sometimes to this end they conspire and combine together as predatory animals do, and work in gangs to excite the charitable sympathies, and extract the charitable alms, of the public.

In Belgium as is well-known, a Colony has been founded at Merxplas, near Antwerp, for this class of the community, and the results

obtained there have so commended the proposal to establish a similar Colony in this country that a Bill has been introduced by Sir John Gorst, for that purpose. The class of vagrants who are now being considered is replenished from four sources :

(1) The children of tramps in whom a roving and vagabond disposition is hereditary.

(2) & (3) Those named in (A) and (B)—men and women—who are in some cases physically unfit for work, or who have had no training for work, whose early life was partly spent in casual and irregular ways—doing odd jobs of work, who therefore formed no habit of continuous labour and have no love of it.

(4) These are a class who will be more fully described under the next section, viz. : the men and women who fall out of work either because of physical or mental deficiency, or because of a season of bad trade or the introduction of labour-saving machinery. Such persons begin to tramp from place to place in search of work, and finding it increasingly difficult to obtain work, soon lose all desire of doing so and sink into the regular nomad vagrant class. Accordingly they seek work no longer and become less and less fitted for it.*

* Two other subsidiary classes are referred to in (*e*) and (*f*) on pp. 21 and 22.

For this class of the Unemployable it is now generally agreed that nothing can be done to redeem them from the habits of indolence and vagrancy which they have formed, and to restore the capacity and love of regular honest work, unless there be compulsory detention in a Training Colony. In such a Colony there will need to be not only various kinds of industry that will be suitable to different gifts and capacities; but also these essential elements, viz., a simple but nutritious dietary, perfect sanitation, healthy physical exercises, sympathetic and efficient instruction in all the various industries, a discipline that will use every kind of encouragement and incentive to work, and inflict varying degrees of penalty for laziness and insubordination, and above all, an atmosphere that will be charged with moral and religious influences that will seek to awaken and develop the better life hidden under the most sordid and forlorn of this class. There has been much talk of late years concerning the reformatory discipline of the reformatory prisons at Elmira (New York) Mansfield (Ohio), and Lowend (Mass.); of the prisons in Toronto; and now happily, of one or two prisons in our own country conducted on similar lines. These examples show how such reformatory discipline can be successfully carried on through *punishments* that chiefly affect the prisoner from the quality and savour of his food, and the comfort of his lodging; and through *rewards* which again are found in the quality of the food and lodging, but also in promotion to privileges which are greatly appreciated. This discipline is enforced in order to awaken the desire for a better kind of life, and to nurture that desire; so that old inveterate habits of sloth are sloughed off, and new powers of work and new

pleasures in it are created. In the appendix I reproduce the account of the Elmira method which is adopted in the other American reformatory prisons as it is given in the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform." At Merxplas and in the American reformatories the reformatory discipline is carried out chiefly by a classification of the inmates and their promotion or degradation from one class to another. In all of them this classification is made within the one institution. It is believed, however by many experts, that so far as Training Colonies for Vagrants in our country are concerned, it would be better to have different colonies for the different classes of Vagrants. These divers Colonies should be near one another and should be under one administration.

In addition however, to what has been learned in our prisons and reformatories, much more has been learned from the Colonies in Germany, and yet more from the Colonies of Hadleigh, Lingfield and Starnthwaite in this country, as to how, through the companionship and direction of devoted men and women inspired with a high religious purpose it is possible to quicken, even amongst the most degraded, moral feelings that are dormant, but not wholly dead; and to give the inspiration and cheer of hope by which even such men and women may be saved.

2. The Unemployed.

HAVING thus disentangled the question of the Unemployable from the wholly different question of the Unemployed with which it is so often confused, we now deal with the problem of the Unemployed. Of this great class in our country there are four categories which are wholly distinct, and which must be therefore considered separately, because each category involves wholly distinct problems and must be dealt with in different ways and by different agencies. I name these categories:—

1. The Chronic Unemployed.
2. The Seasonally Unemployed.
3. The Unemployed during crises in the staple industries of our manufacturing towns or districts.
4. The Unemployed in periods of severe depression which affects the whole country or large districts of the country.

1. The Chronic Unemployed. The first category, viz.:—those who may be called the "Chronic" Unemployed, present a problem which is present with us at all times. Even when trade is at its best there is always a certain number of men in every industry, skilled and unskilled, that are out of work. When trade is bad in a particular industry, this number is increased, but there is always a certain number.

The following quotations elucidate what has been said and also indicate what may be regarded as the percentage of those who are thus throughout the country, even under normal conditions of trade, unemployed. The Massachussetts State Commission on the Unemployed, 1895, says :—

> "It is clear from the investigations which we have been able to make, that non-employment will fluctuate in amount from month to month and from year to year, and is and has been a factor, and in certain cases is an increasing evil. This problem must be looked upon as a more or less permanent one and one that must be attacked, if attacked at all, by slow and patient methods."

And the United States Labour Report for 1886, says :—

> "It is undoubtedly true that out of the total number of establishments such as factories, mines, etc., existing in the country, about 5 per cent. were absolutely idle during the year ending July 1st, 1885, and that perhaps 5 per cent. more were idle for part of the time, or, for a just estimate, 7½ per cent. of the whole number, were idle or equivalent to idle, during the year named. If this percentage be applied to those engaged in agriculture, transportation, mining industries and manufactures, there were engaged in these four great branches 13,317,861 persons. Applying the percentage arrived at—7½ per cent.—we obtain a total of 998,839 as constituting the above estimate of possibly Unemployed of the United States during the year ending July 1st, 1885 (meaning by the "Unemployed" those, who in prosperous times, would be fully employed, and who during the time mentioned were seeking employment)."

It is probably true that this total as representing the Unemployed at any one time in the United States, is fairly represented. The Fabian Tract, dated March, 1895, gives what statistics there are for England and Wales. It says :—

> "Of the great permanent army of the Unemployed no reliable statistics can be obtained. From reports rendered to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade by Trade Unions, it appeared that in December, 1893, the percentage of members unemployed was 7.9."

Since that date the percentage of unemployed in our Trades Unions has been much less. The *Labour Gazette* of October, 1904, reports "In the 273 Trade Unions, with an aggregate membership of 575,575, making returns 39,005 or 6·8% were reported as unemployed by the end of September, compared with 6·4% at the end of August, 1904, and 5·8% at the end of September, 1903." Mr. Percy Alden, in an admirable pamphlet, entitled "The Unemployed Problem" published by the Friends' Social Union, says "There are no statistics available which will enable us to determine the number of unemployed at any one time. The Board of Trade furnishes statistics as to the unemployed in certain Trade Unions; the returns they have given vary from 7% in 1893 to 6% at the present time (July and August, 1904). The mean percentage during 10 years (1894-1904) being 3·8, including a good many prosperous years. These figures refer to skilled trades, and since skilled men are more regularly employed than unskilled, and the organised than the unorganised, the general percentage will be much larger."

In our country, if the proportion of Members of Trade Unions out of work in one year was 6 or 7% we may be quite sure that the proportion of the unemployed who are not members of Trades Unions, especially among labourers whose work is unskilled, is much larger. It probably

therefore may be regarded that in the same year 10% of those who are fit for work and seeking work are yet unemployed. Of course there can be no question that this large percentage includes those who, whilst fit for work, are less fit than most of their fellow workmen, because of a feeble body or lack of skill or because of a less reliable character. Nevertheless it must also be remembered that, whilst it is quite certain that often their want of employment is owing to causes of inefficiency for which the man is himself to blame, yet a large proportion of the poverty caused by unemployment, is directly traceable to causes for which the individual is not to blame. Professor Warner in his book on the American Charities gives a summary of the facts collected by him in his careful expert investigations, and he states that 74·4 per cent. of poverty is thus traceable to causes for which the suffering Unemployed are not responsible.

There are now two questions which have to be considered :—

A. How may the numbers of those who are out of work during times of normal trade be reduced?

B. How can those that are thus unemployed be relieved and helped more easily and certainly to find honest employment that will enable them to maintain themselves and their families?

A.

In answer to the first question some important suggestions have been made :—

(*a*) That Child Labour should be still further reduced.

In Germany as is known children are not allowed to enter factories (the same is true of one or two other countries) until they are fourteen. In our country it is proposed to abolish half-time labour for children in agricultural and also in manufacturing industries. Every reduction of Child Labour will give, of course, more employment to adults.

(*b*) In like manner if the Eight Hours Day becomes universal in all manufacturing industries, it will necessarily give employment to a greater number of people, though not to the extent that is imagined by some.

It is not likely, however, that an Eight Hours Day will be universal in this country so long as this country competes in the world's markets with Germany and America, where the hours of labour at the present time are longer than with us.

(*c*) Our best Trades Unions have strongly opposed the frequent recurrence to overtime in our workshops, as injurious to the health of those who are greatly over-taxed by the exceptional hours of labour; but also and chiefly because it lessens the demand and the opportunity of labour for the Unemployed.

It must be remembered, however, that no employer who carefully watches his business is likely to work very much overtime; and that as orders sometimes depend upon speed of delivery,

anything that decreases speed of delivery will decrease the number of Employed, and not of the Unemployed.

(*d*) The question of Alien Emigration also is urged by many as necessarily involved in this problem. In America and in the Colonies as is well-known, strong action has been taken to prevent emigrants who would be likely to swell the ranks of the Unemployed, from over-crowding the labour market and reducing the labour wage. This question I know involves other issues and assumes other aspects. It must never be forgotten how much we have been indebted to emigrants from European countries who have established prosperous industries in this country, and have greatly helped British commerce.

(*e*) Many of the Unemployed are Army Men, who, on leaving the Army find themselves without employment. Those of them who received a training in their youth for some definite trade have lost much of their skill during the seven years of Army Service. Probably a number equally great entered the Army, who had no such training and who when they leave the Army can only seek employment as unskilled labourers, competing with others of that class. Now this ever-flowing source of the Unemployed in our country, many of whom unhappily drift into the tramp and vagrant class, might be staunched and closed if, during the years of service in the Army these two things were done :—

(1) If opportunity were given for those who had been trained and engaged in some of our national industries, such as building and carpentry trades, or iron and blacksmith trades,

etc., to exercise that trade during a small portion of their time, so that they would maintain, and it might even be, increase their skill as trained workmen who would command employment because of their skill on leaving the Army.

(2) For the rest of our soldiers there would be many advantages of other kinds, both moral and physical, if in connection with all Barracks training were given and employment found, during, it may be, two hours a day, in manual, especially in agricultural, work. There might be associated with every Barracks a farm on which they might engage in this healthy labour, which would be a most pleasant relief to the drill and monotonous routine of the soldier's life, and which would give training to all our young soldiers in farm labour, so that on leaving the Army they would at once be sure to find employment in the great national industry of agriculture which at present suffers greatly for lack of skilled labourers.

(*f*) The most pitiable class of the Unemployed are those who leave our prison and who, because of the convict brand that is upon them, find it difficult and oftentimes impossible to get work, however earnestly they desire and seek it. During their detention in prison many have formed an earnest resolution to provide, when at liberty, an honest livelihood for themselves. But how hard their chances are! In the Second Appendix it is shown how in Elmira Prison Reformatory prisoners are encouraged by their good behaviour in prison to gain earlier release on parole, and employment in that case is sought for them, upon which they enter when they leave prison, and in which they are further encouraged

by a probation officer, who stands by them as a friend. In giving evidence before the Interdepartmental Committee on Vagrancy last year I recommended that prisoners might be allowed to complete their term of imprisonment in a Vagrant Colony, where they might receive some industrial training to prepare them for their future life, and where they would be assisted in obtaining employment on leaving the Colony. At present, many of these convicts or ex-prisoners become tramps because they cannot obtain work, and not infrequently they lapse into the criminal class.

(*g*) We must never lose sight of this fact, that the Unemployed are often those who are the least capable of efficient work. Everything therefore that tends to give a higher moral discipline and character and more physical vigour and technical skill to our workmen, will be certain in a number of ways, some of which are not easily traced, to reduce the number of the Unemployed. Good workmen are not lightly dismissed, and will be kept by a good employer even at some loss, during a time of depression. The work of efficient workmen ensures a better market and readier sale. Of course it may be said that the number of those employed is limited by the capital that is available to maintain them and to direct their labour: but it should not be forgotten that capital itself is attracted to industries where trustworthy and able workmen are engaged: and if all workman or a larger number of them, were of a higher order in regard to character and skill, much less money would be wasted unproductively in drink, gambling, etc., and would be spent in the purchase of commodities for the production of which much labour is required.

Also such workmen would in many cases provide the capital in Co-operative Societies and otherwise for the maintenance of themselves and their fellow workmen. If therefore, a higher and more effective system of apprenticeship could be introduced: if parents were more zealous to secure effective training for their children in an honourable industry; and if the physical vigour and moral control of our working class were enhanced, much would be done to reduce the number of the Unemployed, for the reasons which I have indicated and others which are more remote, but which are equally certain in their effect.

(*h*) The reduction of our idle and unemployed men who often find increasing difficulty in obtaining employment, might be at once ensured by arresting the exodus from our country districts into our towns of agricultural labourers; or, now whilst our country districts are being depopulated, our towns are being congested by this inflow of men competing mostly for unskilled work in our towns and cities. Here we touch a question of grave and national importance, in which many issues are involved other than those which we are now considering. It is in many respects not only a significant but a lamentable fact that persons of all ages occupied in agriculture have diminished in numbers as the following table shows:—

In 1861, 1,830,049 engaged in agriculture
,, 1871, 1,423,854 ,, ,, ,,
,, 1891, 1,099,572 ,, ,, ,,
,, 1901, 988,340 ,, ,, ,,

Thus in these forty years, persons engaged in healthy country work have diminished nearly

one half. During these forty years the population of England and Wales has risen most rapidly at the annual rate of 1·86 per cent. and therefore was one half more in 1901 than it was in 1861, so that now the proportion of our strictly agricultural population is probably not more than 12 in the 100—a phenomenon which has the greatest significance, and which has no parallel anywhere in the past or present history of any country in the World. If we are to reduce the number of those unemployed in the towns we must prevent the inrush of this great army of labouring people from our country districts. On many accounts this is the problem of problems of our day, and there is one method by which infallibly that perilous invasion of our towns and fearful depopulation of our country districts, can be arrested. Let Communal or Co-operative Colonies be formed in which small holders will hold their land by permanent tenure, under sound economic, and attractive social, conditions: in which therefore a healthy and independent life can be assured to them, instead of the somewhat servile, and wholly uncertain and insecure, conditions in which most of our agricultural labourers now find themselves, and we may be quite sure that the general exodus from the country into our towns will be greatly reduced.

There are movements now astir to promote this desirable object. (4) Many other industries of our time are over-crowded, but the one great national industry of agriculture is depleted, and is being ruined for want of effective labour. Therefore to obtain a reduction of the unemployed in

(4) See Note in Appendix I.

the other industries we must largely increase the number of those who are engaged in that greatest and most essential national industry, viz.: the agricultural industry which is, in a sense, the basis of all others and upon which the well-being of our country in many essential respects vitally depends. The Salvation Army in America have established two important Colonies on large domains which have been granted to them in two States. About $300,000 have been spent setting women and children as well as men upon these lands.

"The Colonists have consisted of worthy and poor families. The farms have averaged 20 acres. The Colonists are all self-supporting. On one Colony last year the cash income of the settlers averaged $800 per family. On another Colony the business turnover amounted during the year to $200,000 while about $50,000 was paid in freight to the Railroad Company. On this Colony there are now three schools, four teachers, and 130 children of school age."

The example of New Zealand also shows gratifying results. In 1894 the New Zealand Advances to Settlers Act was passed. The Official Annual Report of the eighth year up to March, 1903, definitely states that "over $18,000 have been advanced, that the payment of interest and principal have been regularly paid by the settlers, that there are no outstanding debts, and that instead of loss there is a surplus of $300,000 after paying working expenses."

We repeat therefore what President Roosevelt says in his recent message to Congress :—

"Give every man who wants it a chance to get a home on the land."

and to support his message he adds :—

"We must seek to check the trend of population to the cities and turn it back to the land and thus safeguard the nation against one of the greatest dangers that now confronts us in the maintenance of our social and political institutions."

Commander Booth Tucker, of the Salvation Army, has brought a Bill before Congress, asking for the creation of a Colonization Bureau to aid settlers upon the land, and states the objects of the Bill, which might with even greater emphasis and urgency, be applied to England : —

(1) "To place the landless man on the man-less land.

(2) To place by means of *unemployed* capital *unemployed* labour on *unemployed* land and thereby convert this *trinity* of waste into a unity of production.

(3) To mitigate the friction between capital and labour by the provision (under I may add perfectly safe conditions) of what is known among the French as the '*droit au travail*'—the right to work.

(4) To find a way out for the middle-aged man who is at present not wanted by the employer, and who in case of losing his position, finds it exceedingly difficult to get another."

It will be one of the most important economic achievements in America, but still more in this country, if the State would, under the wisest regulations promote the settlement of workers on the land in honourable ways which will have no taint of pauperism in them. By these means more than in any other, the Unemployed in our country will be reduced, and a more healthy balance be restored between our rural and urban populations. It is interesting to state that on the morning when this paragraph was dictated I received a letter from a most active and enterprising man who is taking out a number of labourers to New Zealand to settle them under the Settler's Act in that country, and he says :—

"Your work of Home Colonization interests me strongly. I have organised and taken out a great many bright young men, the majority of whom would be in England now if they had had a chance of getting a few acres in this country. It seems a great pity that such a crowd of energetic and capable young fellows should be driven away. They are welcomed in the Colonies, but it seems to me that England cannot afford to lose one of them."

Colonel Lamb of the Emigration Department of the Salvation Army informs me that he has this spring sent out of this country a great number of families, in all 700 people,* to settle in their Colonies in America, but he adds how much more happily he would help to settle them in the pastures and waste lands of this country which produce little because little or no labour is spent on them. Let us not forget that whilst

* During 1905 he emigrated 3,000.

this emigration continues, it is frequently the finest blood of our race that is drawn from our veins and goes to enrich other countries, whilst the weaker and those who are less fit for labour remain with us to reproduce after their kind.

(*i*) Reference has been made in the last division to workmen who, having passed the prime of life, are not able to keep the pace of younger men in the workshop, or do the amount of work that entitles them to the full wage which is required by their Trades Unions to be paid to all workmen. Accordingly they fall into the ranks of the Unemployed. There is no doubt that the Workmen's Compensation Act has made Employers more strict in employing those men who are likely to be vigilant and alert. This misfortune is befalling more men now than ever, and in the future greater numbers are likely to suffer from it unless a remedy is found. In most of our factories, the cost of machinery and the value of steam power makes it imperative that the very uttermost of work be done, and the greatest return secured, in the shortest time. So the machinery of our factories everywhere is being more highly geared in speed, and more continuous energy is required from the workman. Older men who cannot bear this higher pressure and heavier strain thus fall out of the ranks and become unemployed.

Can however, no remedy be found for this growing evil? It may, I think, be found in two directions.

1. (a) By introducing a system of piece-work into our factories so that older men

may be paid not by the time-table, but by the amount of work they do, which therefore may be done in a more leisurely fashion.

(b) A lower wage might be paid to working men past a certain age who are not able to do the full amount of work which is required from their fellows.

I know the difficulty that will be made in carrying out either of these suggestions. The Trades Unions of each trade insist upon the payment of a fixed wage to the workmen employed in any given industry, and that wage is based upon the average wage paid to workmen in the industry of a given district. Hence they may object either to piece work, which seems to infringe their rule of an absolutely fixed and equal wage for all workmen, or to a lower wage for older men doing the regular work of the factory, because that would lower the average wage paid in the district; but both these objections can surely be removed by a wise arrangement made by employers and the leaders of Trades Unions—an arrangement that would leave intact the principle of a standard wage for able-bodied and fully qualified workmen, and yet allow room in the factory for men who have passed their prime, but who can yet do a certain amount of good work.

2. Another remedy however has been found in another direction. The object is to keep those who are unable to endure the strain of the modern factory from sinking into the ranks of the Unemployed, and this is done by providing some suit-

able employment in which they may engage. In the last division (*h*) it would be seen that allotments or small holdings are proposed to be offered to such men, and this would certainly be a most pleasant form of labour for men who, though not fit for the stress and toil in the factory, but yet had vigour enough to cultivate the soil in a simple way. Many of our workmen in our towns cultivate their garden allotments in their leisure time, and such men would be quite prepared to spend the evening of their life in what would be simply a larger allotment garden in which they would earn enough at any rate to keep themselves from absolute poverty, especially with the help of their Friendly Societies. Experiments have been made in America in some of the large States, especially in Philadelphia. In the sixth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Cultivation Association these passages occur :—

"The peculiar characteristic of our industrial system is its urgent demand for young efficient workers. The old and inefficient are remorselessly crowded out of employment. To these unfortunates the Association's plan of relief through work is an inestimable boon. A glance at the statement on page 6 will show how the older men and women have crowded in, as the younger have found employment. It is for the aged and partially disabled men and women with helpless families to support, that Vacant Lot Cultivation is now carried forward."

"The cultivation of 27 acres in 1897 has grown to 198 acres in 1902, and a total product of $6,000 in 1897 to a product of $50,000 last season."

The poor of our towns may be taught in this way to appreciate a healthy life in the country, and how a living may be procured by work on the land. They are eneouraged to learn something of agriculture and market gardening, and so the Vacant Lot Cultivation brings country life with all its blessings of pure air, wholesome food and health-giving exercise to the poor of our cities. (5)

In Belgium most large factories are in villages where every workman is encouraged to spend his leisure time in the cultivation of a large garden allotted to him, and such workmen need never pass into the ranks of the Unemployed, even when unfit for factory labour. They simply have to extend the work of their garden to which they have been accustomed through life. In France too, this association of garden work with factory life is being very earnestly promoted, not merely because of the improved health of the workman and the occupation which it gives in leisure hours, but because of the increased income it brings to the family and because also of the security it gives for the earning of a small but honest livelihood, when the workman is unfitted for the toil of the factory. The Guardians of Poplar and elsewhere are forming Labour Colonies in which their able-bodied paupers may work and in which they may by their labour partly maintain themselves. Would it not be better public policy that the State and the Municipality should provide allotments or holdings for men who are thrown out of regular employment, so that they can, under proper guidance, and with some training, secure for themselves and

(5) See Note in Appendix I.

families an honest livelihood and save themselves from the degradation of the Workhouse?

But other ancillary occupations might be found in which workmen no longer fit for the factory can still earn a living. Throughout Europe, men and women employed on their small holdings, spend their winter evenings and wet days in indoor employments which occupy their time and increase the family income. In like manner it will be possible to organize remunerative industries for men and women who are no longer fit to bear the strain and pressure of work in the factory. At any rate it will be conceded that everything should be done to prevent men who cannot find employment in the factory, from merging into the great class of the Unemployed to spend their life in idleness amid the temptations that beset their leisure, or to drift and drivel into pauperism.

B.

We have sought to answer the first question, how the numbers of those who are in times of normal trade unemployed, are to be reduced?

We have now to consider the second question, how can those that are thus unemployed be relieved, and helped more easily and certainly to find honest employment, that will provide for their livelihood?

(*a*) The first answer to this question that comes naturally and impromptu to the mind is, let Employment Bureaux be opened in every part of the country and let these Bureaux be informed

fully from the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, as to where there is a demand for labour.

I know that serious objection is taken to these Employment Bureaux by a great number of our Trades Unions. I cannot but think that these objections might be overcome and that Trades Unions themselves, might easily obviate the dangers to which they think these Bureaux give rise. It must however be confessed that the principal Trades Unions do at present achieve much of the good contemplated by these Bureaux, in that they provide information to their members of the places in which work can be found. And they do more than this, they provide accommodation for their members who travel in search of such labour.

It is therefore for the great mass of unskilled workers, and others who are not associated in any Union that this question is most urgent. Means should be taken in order to give to such men and women, the direction and help which they need when they are thus out of employment; and so in the speediest and most efficient way to assist in restoring them again to honest employment and save them from the rapid deterioration that quickly falls upon them amid the long and wearisome journeys, which they have often to take in order to find labour. Masters of Workhouses have told me with what pity and shame they saw the degradation that fell upon men of this order, who came to their Casual Wards as men out of work who were travelling to seek employment, but who, after it may be weeks or months of futile quest, were

apt to become vagrants of the ordinary type who no longer loved or sought labour. They were men in whom the hope of industry and the spirit of independence had been utterly quenched, and so they became, as we say, irredeemable tramps. Everything that is possible should be done in order to prevent this lapse and swift degradation falling upon men who are out of work and who have to go from place to place, to seek and find work. For such men—men belonging as I have said generally to the class of unskilled labourers—I make the following suggestions :—

(1) Let such a man obtain from the Central Police Office in the place where he lost his employment, a certificate as to the work which he had done and as to his character as an honest workmen and also as to his being obliged to travel to another place to get work. At each Police Station in the country let information be provided as to work to be found in the town or neighbourhood which he visits—such information as is usually given in an Employment Bureau. I know that the Police Station is not relished by working men, but it would be well if our Police Officers were universally recognised—as they are in the streets, by those who are in perplexity as to their bearings—to be the helpers of those who are in need, even more than as the enemies of those who do wrong. But if there were any difficulty in using the Police Station, each Municipal or Urban District Office might render this service. Let such a man, who is thus certified, be received in the Workhouses on wholly different terms from those on which any vagrant may claim to be received in the Casual Ward.

Let him be treated as an honest workman who needs and desires help in his quest for work. Let him have thus, a comfortable lodging and let the work that he renders for the lodging and food which he obtains, be done by him in the afternoon of the day, so that he will be free to spend the morning in seeking work in that district. Many of these men however, will have some little money to spend and will be prepared to pay for lodging and food when they are thus travelling to seek work. For such men therefore (and the same applies to women) municipal lodgings should be provided, and these lodgings ought to be kept scrupulously clean and ought to be officered and managed in such a way as to encourage their lodgers to maintain their self-respect. They should also offer assistance in alliance it may be with the Central Police or Municipal Office of the town or district, in directing these workmen and workwomen to places where work can be found.

The remarkable pamphlet which has been recently published recording the experiences of five days' tramp by two ladies, who, in the attire of working women seeking work, spent five nights in the Casual Wards of Workhouses or in Municipal Lodging Houses, shows in the most impressive way how much could be done at once by Municipal Lodgings properly conducted, to alleviate the unhappy lot of workmen and workwomen who are on the tramp for work ; and who could there at little cost receive directions that will help them in finding work. The fact that these two ladies found one Women's Shelter which was everything that could be desired, shows conclusively, that such Shelters or Lodg-

ings could be established everywhere and con ducted without loss.

(b) In a vast number of cases however, it is not necessary for men and women who are unemployed to leave the town or district in which they have been accustomed to labour. Among the unskilled workers in every town there is a continual coming and going—one place closed and another place opened : and the problem here therefore is, how during the interval that lies between the one situation and the other, the time can be filled up without allowing them to lapse into the army of loafers and cadgers that infest our cities, and who so often drift into our Prisons or our Workhouses. In our country efforts are made by the Salvation Army and the Church Army to deal with this flotsam and jetsam of our cities and towns—the mass of those who are for a shorter or longer time out of work and who may easily sink into vagrancy or crime ; but in our country there is one Institution and in Germany there is another, which deals especially and successfully with those men and women of whom I am now thinking, viz. : those unskilled workers who having lost one situation are seeking anxiously for another.

The Institution in our country is the Central Mission in Manchester, where every day from 1 p.m., 100 men or more receive a ticket which entitles them to food and work and lodging in their Workmen's Home. In that Home the work these men do suffices to maintain the Home without any charitable help, so that they do not feel they have lost the sense of independence. They have paid by their work for all they have received,

and every morning they are at liberty to go out and spend the forenoon seeking for work. In this way, without expense, such men are kept from swelling the ranks of the Unemployed. They are employed even during the time they are seeking for employment and it is pleasant to know how quickly the great majority of them find again the employment they seek.

The Colony abroad to which I referred is that in Magdeburg, where a Town Colony is established for men who are out of employment. They can find employment at once in this Colony and remain there until they are able to secure employment elsewhere. And here, as at Manchester, under the most economic management, the Colony is self-supporting.

Again however, we are brought here to face the question of the number of men in our cities engaged in unskilled labour who are exposed to the continual necessity and distress of changing their situations and shifting their labour throughout the year: men who therefore, can have no settled homes, or if they ever have homes they are frequently broken up, so that both men and women are exposed to the fearful temptations and dangers of a vagrant life. When I looked at the men I saw in the Central Mission in Manchester, many of them stalwart, well-built men fit for work, and men for whom one could desire, as the highest earthly good they could possess, a settled home and healthy regular work—I could not but greatly desire that in this country for such men we could establish immediately, a few such Colonies as one that exists at Fredericksoord in Holland. We have heard much of the Belgian

Colonies and German Colonies. They have valuable lessons for us, but for England to-day the system adopted in the Dutch Colony to which I refer seems to me to be more likely to meet our most urgent needs. It not only gives employment to single men out of work, but plants families on the land and gives to such men out of work, the ambition and hope of establishing homesteads of their own, which they will hold by permanent tenure, and in which a comfortable maintenance and a healthy life are assured to them and to their children.

I give in the third appendix an account of the Colony (6) established by the Society of Beneficence at Fredericksoord, near the Zuyder Zee, about five miles from the town of Steenwyk. The Motto of the Society is :—"Help the people and improve the land," and its underlying principle is to assist the destitute in meeting his wants and the wants of all who depend upon him, without suggesting a feeling of dependence and without disturbing family relations.

2. The Seasonally Unemployed.

We now deal with unemployment that is seasonal. In many trades there are periods of the year in which the trade cannot be prosecuted; and therefore, those who are engaged in it are for the time unemployed. This of course means for these men, a loss of wage during that interval which may be long or short, but it also means a period of idleness which is apt to engender a lessening of the industrial habit, and gives rise to those forms of

(6) See Appendix III.

temptation which beset idleness. It would there fore be at once an economic and moral advantage to all persons engaged in such trades, if employment could be found for them during those regular intervals every year, when their trade is practically closed to them. The remedy here surely is obvious, that there should be some occupation found for such men during those intervals, whether they be long or short; these occupations to be such as will not in the least degree interfere with their ability to return to their special trade whenever the opportunity is given. There are many industries which would be wholly suitable for such interludes. For some of these trades preparatory training will be necessary to a greater or less extent, but there are others of a simpler order for which little training will be required. I give three examples which indicate my meaning.

(*1*). In Switzerland as is well known the peasants still hold their property by communal tenure which gives them rights to pasturage on the mountains and to the gathering of wood in the forests. Their ordinary occupations however are for the most part impossible during the winter, and there is thus a long period of seasonal unemployment. Now however, those winter seasons are fully occupied in ways that not only bring profit to the home, but also give varied interest and much social pleasure to the villages and scattered châlets of Switzerland. The wood-carving industry alone yields a return of more than a million sterling every year; and there are other industries, such as embroidering on plain goods sent from England and other countries, which yield even larger returns.

In Würtemburg in like manner, under the wise economic arrangements that were instituted by an eminent Statesman—von Steinbeis—the small peasant yeomen of that country who own the land they hold, were trained and assisted to engage in many kinds of home industries during the winter season when all of them were unemployed, because they could not then cultivate their land. By the varied home industries which he had thus established throughout the land, Würtemburg, which was economically a poorer country than Ireland, is now a land where a high standard of comfort universally prevails.

In the same way during recent years the seasonal unemployment on the small holdings of France and other European countries is being removed by the introduction of similar home industries; and in passing, it may be said that the electric lighting of Swiss and French villages which has been cheaply introduced by using the "energy" yielded by the numerous cascades of water, and the widespread use of petroleum in the villages and scattered cottages of Europe, have enabled home industries to be carried on during long winter evenings, which would otherwise have been impossible." (7)

(2) Another example of employment provided during the winter season when labourers are hindered from their regular work because of the frost and inclement weather, was given by Mr. Hendry Wallace, J.P., at a Conference of Guardians held in Gateshead a few years ago, when he showed how, during those very months of

(7) See Note in Appendix I.

seasonal unemployment, the street refuse which was taken out to sea in barges at considerable expense, might be taken out to waste land in the neighbourhood and distributed there, so as to be ploughed or dug into the land when the weather broke; and he showed how in this way, labourers who were idle in the streets or in the Workhouses, might find remunerative and most useful employment.

(3) The great varieties of industry that may be thus undertaken by working men and working women during periods of the year in which, from the nature of their trade or from the inclemency of the season, they are thrown out of employment, may be learnt by reference to the Report of the Recess Committee on the Establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Industries for Ireland, published in the year 1896, (8) and by a study of Prince Kropotkin's great book "Fields, Factories, and Workshops," sold now in the popular edition at one shilling.

3. The Unemployed during Severe Crises in the Staple Industries of our Manufacturing Towns and Districts.

The name "Spasmodically Unemployed" has been given to those persons who by some unexpected vicissitude in their trade—the introduction of new labour-saving machinery, or the failure of customary markets—are thrown out of employment. If these are found in towns where other trades flourish, they may be dealt with in methods described under the two former

(8) See Note in Appendix I.

heads. If on the other hand, their number is very considerable, and a large district is affected, then the problem is much the same as that dealt with under the following head.

But it seems to me that in towns or districts where from any special causes there are a number of work people thrown out of employment, the measures that were approved at Conferences held at Woolwich during the year 1903, are worthy of special consideration. The report of these conferences was submitted to the Woolwich Borough Council, on the 14th July, 1904, when the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That the Town Clerk be asked to submit a Report upon the legal powers at present possessed by municipalities in London for the purpose of acquiring and holding land, and upon the amendments in the law necessary to further and facilitate the holding of land for municipal purposes.

(2) That a fund be accumulated by the Council which may be spent on public works during times of exceptional distress through unemployment by means of annual savings in times of prosperity, not exceeding the amount of a 1d. rate, in order that employment may thereby be provided without increasing the rates during a period of distress, and that if necessary the L.G.B. be asked to obtain legislation for that purpose.

(3) That the Works Committee be directed to prepare schemes of public works in the Borough, to be executed in periods of distress, and that the Finance Committee be asked to make provision

in the estimates accordingly, in consultation with the Works Committee.

The following resolutions were also passed which relate to other questions dealt with in this pamphlet :—

(7) That the Governors of the Woolwich Polytechnic and other educational bodies be asked to consider whether they can extend or improve the existing provision of education calculated to fit persons to succeed in rural districts or in the Colonies, and that the Board of Guardians be asked to consider whether it can train the young under its care in the needs and ways of country life.

(8) That the Woolwich Board of Guardians be invited to form a joint committee with the Borough Council to consider the points raised in paragraph 11, on pages 12 and 13, of the Minutes of the proceedings of the Conferences of Representatives of Administrative Authorities in London, held 3rd April, 1903, upon the question of conferring power upon Boards of Guardians to take land for the purpose of providing work in times of want.

(14) a. That this Council do consider the question of the establishment of a more complete industrial organisation for ascertaining the state of the labour market from time to time, and supporting the L.C.C. in asking the Government to take steps for the establishment of local Industrial Offices throughout the country for the collection and distribution of information with regard to industry and the demand for labour at home and abroad.

(15) That the necessary steps be taken to secure the appointment of a permanent committee from the bodies represented on the conference for the following purposes, namely—

(a) To make enquiries and submit reports on matters bearing upon the problem of unemployment in the Borough.

(b) To watch the conditions of trade and industry, and issue warnings when distress from unemployment is to be anticipated.

(c) To draw up and report on schemes for diminishing unemployment in the Borough, mitigating distress arising therefrom.

4. The Unemployed in Periods of Severe Depression Affecting the Whole Country or Affecting Large Districts of the Country.

I now consider what employment might be most advantageously provided in periods of great industrial depression, affecting the whole country or large sections of it. Here we are inevitably led to consider national undertakings in which great numbers of people thrown out of employment, might be engaged so as to save them from the industrial degeneracy that follows swiftly upon prolonged idleness, or from sinking into pauperism and becoming a stupendous burden upon the State. Apart from Municipal and Government Works of special kinds which might be undertaken in such periods of depression, there are

three great national industries which might then be engaged in, for the relief of the Unemployed and to the benefit of the State.

(*1*) Afforestation.

With regard to this I quote one sentence from the Report of the Recess Committee to which I have already referred ;—

The forests in the hands of the State in various European countries have been proved to be remarkably successful. Those in Prussia, show the aggregate annual surplus of income over expenditure from 1876—1883 to be £1,200,000. In Russia, profits of the Crown forests in 1872 reached £900,000, in 1881, £1,485,000. The State forests are worked at a profit in France, Coburg, Gotha, etc."

M. Howitz an eminent Danish expert, in the report upon the re-afforestation of waste land in Ireland, considers that even at the highest estimate of planting and tending the forests, the undertaking would be profitable commercially ; and this report disregards altogether the important element of value which re-afforestation would have in developing the industries connected with forests, in improving the climate, and preventing the mountain land from denudation of soil which is now going on, by arresting the rainfall and changing its character from a torrential into a gradual one. (See Report of the Recess Committee, 1895, p. 25.)

We now import annually for home use, timber worth probably over 17 or 18 millions a year, and

it has been asked why, when the State has land and unlimited capital and can afford to wait for returns, it cannot employ during such a period of depression, the labour of the country in planting great forests on commercial lines. The "Daily Chronicle" some years ago, in quoting Dr. Schlich, the great expert on forestry, asserts that of the 26 million acres of waste land in England, eight millions are fully suited for purposes of afforestation, and that only six millions would be needed to grow the quantity of timber equal to our present import. He remarks too, that a profit of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. can be assured after allowing for compound interest on necessary capital during the period that must elapse before returns come in. (9)

(*2*). The utilization of the Peat which is found in the great Peat Bogs of Ireland, and the Peat Mosses, as they are called, of Scotland. Employment in this labour yields two results of value, namely (1) the value of the Peat which is now being utilised for many purposes, and (2) the value of the cultivable land secured by the removal of the Peat. A very striking example of the utilization of these Peat wastes, and the opportunity they give for providing employment is furnished in the new Labour Colony which has been established at Freistatt in connection with the famous Colony of Mercy, established at Bielefeld by Pastor von Bodelschwing. A description of this Colony is given in the "Friend" for the month of October, 1904, by Mr. Hogge, who concludes his article with this paragraph:—"The two conditions which seem to make for

(9) See Note in Appendix I.

success in this kind of work are both here—a new industry, in no way competing with others, and enough land to employ labour which otherwise might go unemployed. Very little would suffice to create the Peat industry into a profitable concern, and the rough waste land which is opened when the peat is removed might soon be dotted over with the homesteads of a contented peasantry."

(3) The Reclamation of Waste Lands. Striking statistics are also given in the Report of the Recess Committee, as to the reclamation of waste lands of all kinds, including foreshores, salt marshes, land cut up by rivers and lochs, bogs, mountainous and upland wastes, dunes, sandhills, etc., and the Report adds these two striking sentences :—

"That great results may be looked for from reclamation, on a large scale, is sufficiently proved by the fact that the soil of Holland, now one of the richest agricultural countries of the world, consists largely of reclaimed land. Much of the reclamation of Holland has been of the most expensive and daring kind, such as damming out lakes and seas. The Dutch Government is now pumping out the Zuyder Zee at a cost of £18 per acre, and expects to sell it for £34 per acre. There are 476,000 acres to be reclaimed."

"In Belgium the communes undertake a good deal of this reclamation and this work is strongly recommended for its social and economic advantages by M. Emile de Laveleye."

Great national undertakings such as these may therefore in our country be undertaken during any time of universal depression, so as to give helpful employment to the people thrown out of work, and create national wealth of the best kind ; for not only would land be made fertile which is now unfertile and products be raised in our own country which are now imported from abroad ; but vast areas of land which are now unhealthy, untenanted and useless, would have a salubrious climate and be tenanted by thousands of industrious families.

APPENDIX I.

NOTES.

(1) Since this paragraph was written facts have been stated to me on unquestioned authority, which show that the migration of working people in London, and the consequent frequent removal of their children from one school to another, works more disastrously upon the education of many of our children than is suspected.

In a London district, containing about 150 schools, the average removals during the year of children under the age for total exemption was 20 %. Some were forced to seek a new abode owing to the demolition of houses for the widening of thoroughfares and railways, etc. In a few cases parents were fortunate enough to rise in the social scale and to remove their children to a better neighbourhood; but the most frequent cause of removal arose from the necessity to find accommodation within their means for their increasing families. Owing to the rule of the London County Council in respect, to the numbers allowed to occupy one room, and to the separation of sexes, in one block of workmen's buildings containing 60 sets of rooms, twelve families were turned out in one week because to each had come a new baby.

(2) The evil caused by the ignorance and neglect of parents in not putting their children out to trades that may be suitable for them, and allowing them to earn money by engaging in employments that give no training for skilled labour, is much more serious than is obvious at first sight. Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., of Aberdeen, and Mr. Edward Cadbury, of Birmingham, are both taking

great interest in this matter. They have made enquiries which show the great extent and gravity of the evil thus caused. Mrs. Gordon has made a suggestion which would at once reduce this evil and save multitudes of our children from the haphazard and irregular way in which they spend those years of their life, namely from 13 to 17, which determine their whole future. Mrs. Gordon proposes that there should be in connection with all schools an Information Bureau. There might be a central Bureau for a town or district which should act as an agency between employers of labour on the one hand and industrial children on the other, with the object of providing information as to the various trades that are open to the children, and the prospects they offer. Parents would be encouraged and helped to seek in this way the future welfare of their children, and facilities would be provided for their entering suitable trades. This is a kind of service which the Managers of our schools could undertake, and when once organised, it would not involve a great amount of labour on their part, but the advantages to our children and their parents, of the working class, would be exceedingly great. Mrs. Leon, of Russell Square, W.C., and the Women's Settlement, in Southwark, are I learn interesting themselves in this important matter.

The evil which arises from the neglect of parents in setting their children to learn a regular trade is greater in London than elsewhere, because of the difficulty they find in getting such openings for their children. In the workshops of London a great proportion of the men employed are from the provinces, and have received their training there. Rent is so high in London that large employers of labour cannot afford the space, and the expense, for the training of boys in their

workshops. And so London boys are debarred from becoming skilled workmen in some of the largest and most important trades. It is hoped that the Technical Classes, which are so numerously attended in London, will avail to lessen this evil which threatens to crowd London with men who have acquired no regular handicraft trade, and who, not having the physique for unskilled labour, swell the ranks of the unemployed.

(3) The medical treatment of which I speak here is no longer secret, and therefore tainted with the suspicion of quackery. It was set forth fully in a recent issue of the British Medical Journal, pp. 1006-1009, April No., 1904, where many examples were given of the efficacy of the treatment: and I am glad to know that it is proposed to establish some Homes where this treatment will be given for working class patients. I hope that these Homes will be established on the land, and constitute colonies of the kind I have described, because then the patients, during the month's treatment, which I have recommended, would receive the great benefits of healthy out-door life and labour associated with the new and varied interests of a country home. Mr. Robinson Souttar, in his book "Alcohol' its place and power in Legislation," states "many reasons why prolonged residence in an Inebriate home is not to be desired, if it can possibly be avoided, and says that if a system can be devised which will concentrate it to a few weeks, it will be of great value to the better class patients. Many a man to whom twelve months' seclusion would mean ruin, could afford to take a month's holiday. The evils generally incidental to residence in a Retreat would be absent, or greatly minimised, if the treatment were only a month. Any system therefore which permitted of the period of detention being shortened would be wel-

come." Dr. Souttar has said all this with regard to Retreats which are now chiefly occupied by wealthy patients. These are too costly for working men who suffer from this drink craze, but Homes or Colonies on the land, of the kind that I have indicated, might easily be established for working men who could pay for a short residence of one month a sum which, together with their labour, would be sufficient to cover all expenses.

(4) The English Land Colonisation Society was formed for this object. It is now merged in the Co-operative Small Holdings Society, which has been established this year. Its Offices are 10 Adelphi Terrace.

(5) See "Farming in the City"—Sixth Annual Report of the Philadelphia Vacant Lots Association, page 9.

(6) As Mr. Alden undertook to conduct a small party to investigate Labour Colonies in Belgium and Germany, I suggested to him that they might pay a visit to this Colony of Frederiksoord, in Holland. He promised to do so, and he has given a most interesting account of this Colony in "The Friend" for the month of October, 1904 (see Appendix III. for full description), along with reports given by other members of his party of the other Colonies which they visited in Belgium and Germany. His report confirms the impression which I received from reading accounts of the Colony, and I quote from it one or two passages, together with the four concluding paragraphs with which he concludes his report:—

"The underlying principle of Frederiksoord is the assistance of the unemployed by enabling them to work upon the land, and eventually, after experience has been gained and a reputation for industry and ability

established, of settling them in free farms. The method seems to be as follows: Any one of the charitable societies or persons subscribing to the Society of Benificence has the right to recommend any of the unfortunate but deserving poor, especially such as are out of work, to the Colony. Many such colonists would be single men, and in their case they are sent to one or other of the large colony farms, of which there are five of about 300 acres each, where they are trained in all branches of agriculture. If the colonist be married and have children, he is provided with a cottage and garden."

Mr. Alden asks :—"How far could such a system be applied in England?" and then makes the following suggestions :—

1. That a start should be made with a Colony for unmarried men who have been agricultural labourers or accustomed to work on the land. There are hundreds of men who have migrated to the big towns and found regular work very difficult to get and hold. Many of them would be willing to return to the country under fair conditions. A period of probation, as in Holland, might be followed by the "free farm," or small holding, with security of tenure. Loans of money for stock, seeds, etc., might be obtained from a local Agricultural Bank started for the purpose on the Raiffeisen principle. The free farmers should work co-operatively, as they are encouraged to work on the small holdings in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.

2. That, as the first colony demonstrated its success, a second should be linked on to it for married men, for whom cottages should be built. If such cottages are to be cheaply built, the bye-laws would have to be relaxed to some extent, and the Government, through

the County Council, would have to assist in the matter of cheap loans for housing purposes.

3. A colony should also be started for genuine unemployed labourers from the town, especially for younger men, who feel their inability to make a permanent livelihood in the town. Some of these men have an allotment near the town, but the majority would have to be trained from the beginning, under the supervision of skilled foremen. The director of the colony should be a practical and successful farmer, with large heart and wide sympathies.

4. A *sine qua non* should be the condition that none but men of good character be received at these colonies. The man with the criminal taint, the wastrel, the inebriate, should be dealt with at colonies of a different nature, subject to different conditions."

(7) Everyone interested in this subject should read the remarkable article on "The Small Industries of France," in the September number, 1903, of the "Contemporary Review."

(8) This Volume, especially pp. 35-86, should be carefully studied on the subject now under consideration, by those who are interested in the economic and moral well-being of the people.

(9) It is known that Larch, Spruce and other Firs are too soft when grown under the climatic conditions of our country to be of service in building and other purposes, to which Continental and Canadian timber is put. I understand there is a process called the Powell Wood-Process, by which such soft timber can be easily and inexpensively hardened and made available for building and domestic uses.

APPENDIX II.

THE ELMIRA PRISON REFORMATORY (NEW YORK).

"All individuals commended to the Reformatory, except those sentenced by federal courts within the state of New York, are brought to the Institution by its transfer officer.

The neophyte usually has an opportunity for several hours of calm contemplation before he is called from his cell for his first conference with the General Superintendent. At this meeting he is subjected to a searching examination of his whole history, being called upon to furnish for the records all the facts within his ken relating to his parentage, early environment, personal habits, and present ambitions. The information adduced as to progenitors often has an influence in deciding the trade to be taught to the novice, who is unaccustomed to, and unskilled at, labour, and who seldom evinces any choice. The class of manufacturing mostly carried on in the vicinity to which the man is likely to go upon his release is also an important factor in the arrangement of his trade instruction. The prisoners are divided into three classes or grades, determined by the character of the men;—their conduct, industry, and studiousness being factors in securing promotion or retrogradation.

The three grades are styled the Upper First, the Lower First, and the Second. Tyros are inducted to the Lower First Grade. They take their meals in their rooms. By maintaining a good record for six successive months they may advance to the Upper First grade, from which alone they may secure release prior to the expiration of the maximun term for which they can be imprisoned. In the Upper First their cells are more commodious, they are provided

with spring beds, and they eat at tables in a large dining room. From their ranks are chosen the officers and most of the non-commissioned officers of the regiment, as well as the monitors in the shops and the turnkeys of the cell blocks. If their records continue perfect another six months, they become candidates for conditional release, the ultimatum being a vote of confidence by the Board of Managers, and the securing of satisfactory employment.

The downward step from the Lower First grade leads to the Second, or Convict grade. Into this drop the Lower First grade men whose conduct, school, and labour records are imperfect for two or three months in succession, and men of both divisions who are guilty of insubordination or any serious infraction of the rules, or who are detected in the commission of an act evidencing a special hostility to law and government. Those who are reduced to this class forfeit all credit marks, and may only secure readmission to the next higher grade to take a fresh start for the parole goal by earning a perfect marking for three successive months. Those who fall to the Second grade a second time may not emerge from it for six months, and the third degradation is not followed by advancement for a year. Its men are quartered in the smallest cells, are deprived of all room furniture not essential to health and cleanliness, having no sheets to their beds, receive no tea and coffee with their rations, lose the privilege of drawing literature of any kind from the library, and lose their right to receive any trade instruction as such.

The engagements of each inmate are intended to absorb his thoughts during most of his waking moments. The programme is varied for individuals. There are those who are employed at productive labour or in domestic service. A majority of the trades-school pupils spend a portion of two days a week in the drawing room.

On Wednesday and Saturday afternoons work is suspended in the shops and trades' class-rooms, and the four hours are devoted to drilling and military ceremonies. There are evening class meetings for every man as often as twice a week, whilst for those men nearly illiterate and those taking special courses as often as four times a week. On Sundays there are classes in ethics. There are Kindergarten classes for the under-witted, classes for the others in all branches of study, from elementary subjects to the higher sciences and philosophy. The elementary classes are usually taught by advanced convicts. The main classes are, however, iudustrial. There are classes in brick-laying and plastering, black-smithing, horseshoeing, book-binding, barbering, baking, brass finishing and moulding,, boat-building, carpentering and cabinet-making, electricity, firemen's work, fresco painting, wood-finishing, machinery, moulding, branding, pattern-making, photography, stone-cutting, stenography, shoemaking, steam-fitting, stained glass setting, tailoring, tinsmithing, typewriting, upholstering, wood-carving, etc.

Careful instruction is given in every depart-ment, mainly by the convicts themselves. In many workshops containing scores or even hundreds of workers, convicts are the only teachers, and convicts the only ones on guard. Much attention is given to physical training. Every convict on going in has a physical examination, and then the endeavour is made to develop to the normal that which is abnormal.

The system of physical training, with its accompaniment of massage and bathing, is accomplishing what was expected of it. Since its opening there has been confined within the Reformatory precincts a limited number of men of a type so abnormal as not to be susceptible of betterment through the application of methods resorted to in the cases of the majority. Un-developed minds, poorly nourished or diseased

bodies—results of bad environment and vicious habits or the legacy of unhealthy progenitors—had made them stupid, slow, disinclined, if able, to apply their minds to the acquirement of useful knowledge, and generally unprogressive. Many of them are illiterate, and some have so far lost control over themselves as to be ranked not much above idiots. They are utterly incapable of receiving and retaining impressions with sufficient regularity to make headway in the simplest of trades taught in the technological department, and they are fitted only for inconsequential work in the shops. In conduct they rank with the incorrigibles, often because they have no appreciation of the distinction between right and wrong. They are not to be stimulated by the same motives and ambitions that effect most of those undergoing the rehabilitating course. Loss of privilege by way of penalty is regarded with stolid indifference. For men answering this description and for those offering mere physical defects which may be remedied by systematic muscular efforts, the physical training department *accomplishes an amount of good* that cannot be satisfactorily expressed in words.

One of the more recent steps is the adoption of a wage earning plan. Each man is credited with his earnings in labour for every full day's work of eight hours at the rate of 35 cents. per day in the Second, 45 cents. per day in the Lower First, and 55 cents. per day in the Upper First grade. This rate is not fixed in accordance with an estimate placed upon the value of the labour, but is governed by the legal provision restricting the amount that may be disbursed to inmates to 10 per cent. of the gross earnings of the Reformatory. Fines are imposed for bad conduct.

In study, a demerit of $1 is incurred for failure in any subject where the marking is not below 50 per cent.; below 50 per cent. and not below 25 per cent. $2; below 25 per cent. $3.

From his earnings each man is required to pay for what he receives ; in board and lodgings at the rate of 25 cents. per day in the Second, 32 cents. per day in the Lower First, and 40 cents. per day in the Upper First grade ; in clothing, at an established schedule of prices ; and in medical attendance, at the rate of 15 cents. per visit. While for the present the price of board is inflexible, a plan is under consideration by which his expenditure in this direction will be placed in the control of each inmate.

It is intended that any total credit balance obtained under this system shall be placed at the disposal of the inmate earning it as a fund to be paid him on his release. This can take place (unless the maximum term of imprisonment be reached first) only by perfect records for a certain period, and the confidence of the management that the candidate is 'morally, intellectually, and physically capable of earning a livelihood. In the event of the conditional release being authorised there is still another step prior to its realization : *satisfactory employment must be secured.*

The principal regulations governing paroled men, which are prlnted on the certificate issued to each, are these :

1. The graduate shall proceed directly to the place of employment provided for him and there remain, if practicable, for at least six months from date.

2. In case he find it desirable to change his employment or residence, he shall first get the consent of the Managers, through the General Superintendent.

3. He shall on the first of every month, for the period of six months or more,

and until absolutely released by the Managers, forward to the General Superintendent a report of himself certified by his employer or a General Manager, which report shall state whether he has been constantly under pay during the month, and if not, why not, and how much money he has expended and saved, together with a general and full statement of himself and surroundings.

4. He shall in all respects conduct himself honestly, avoid low and evil associations, and shall abstain from intoxicating drinks.

Each man is advised, prior to his departure, that he need not fear to communicate with the management in case he lose his situation or becomes unable to labour by reason of sickness. He is assured that he may at all times rely upon the aid and counsel of the Managers and Superintendent, and that, in case of disease, he may find the Reformatory a desirable retreat. If the terms of the conditional release are faithfully complied with for a period of six months, the Board of Managers, by vote at one of their monthly meetings, grant absolute release, which operates the same as if obtained from the Governor.

The results of the plan are most favourable. According to the report for 1895, there had been received on the indeterminate term up to September 30th, 1894, 6,641 convicts. Of these 4,369 were paroled, the remaining 2,272 being either still in the Reformatory, or, having been released by expiration of the maximum term, pardoned out, transfered to other state prisons or having died. Of the 4,369 who had paroled, 3,628, or 83 per cent., are reported to have probably reformed; 2,616 of these served their complete time of parole and earned their absolute

release; 322 were still on parole; while the remaining one-half had been lost sight of, but who are counted as having 'probably' reformed; 686 or 15·7 per cent. are reported as having probably returned to criminal practices; 303 have been returned to the Reformatory—140 have been returned twice, 26 have returned twice, 12 have been returned three times, and 4 have returned three times."

Mr. E. Grubb, Secretary of the Howard Association, who has visited this Reformatory and two other Prison Reformatories during the summer (1904), reports most favourably on this parole system, and the appointment of Probation Officers, who visit and superintend those who are on 'parole.'

APPENDIX III.

The Colony of Frederiksoord in Holland is conducted on the following plan :—

"When a new family arrives a house is provided and the immediate wants of the household attended to, not in the shape of gifts, but by advances, which must be paid for in instalments according to conditions previously made known to the newcomer. He is also supplied with a sheep (ewe), which can be pastured on the Society's farm for a small sum. On this he makes weekly payments. The purchaser is advised to insure this animal in the general funds of the Society, so that in case of death it can be replaced without loss to the owner. At the very beginning a man is invested with the feeling of ownership, and a way is provided by which, with due economy, he may meet his obligations.

All the wage-earning members of this newly arrived family are at once put to work on one of the Society's farms or in some of the shops or factories operated by it. Idleness is not tolerated.

The children must either be learning a trade or be at school.

Wages, such as are earned in the vicinity of the Colony, are paid weekly after having deducted the instalment on the debt incurred upon arrival ; house rent not exceeding 20 cents. ; one cent. infirmary fee for each person ; four cents. for the clothing fund ; and a reserve for the family emergency fund, equivalent to 10 per cent. on the gross earnings.

After two years probation, if the head of the family has given evidence of industrious habits, and an honourable desire to pay his debts, he is promoted to citizenship, and is called a "vryboer" or "free farmer," If there is a place available he is put on it—a farm of 7'7 acres—apparently a small one, but it is so fertile that it will readily support an ordinary family. Rents vary with the condition of the house and the fertility of the land, but the average annual rent is $20. The payment on his indebtedness is only $4 a year. In addition to this, he must each year put on the land $14 worth of manure, but this item is remitted in case he owns a cow and is duly saving of all manure.

A man ordinarily cannot remain in the Colony as a labourer more than two years. If he fails in this time to give evidence of the possession of those qualities demanded of a farmer he must leave. But once admitted to the farm class he may remain so during good behaviour.

One Government Agricultural experimental station is located in the Colony.

In addition, Schools of Agriculture, of Horticulture and of Forestry have been erected. The Society is absolutely free from religious bias. It has within the Colony a Protestant and a Catholic church, and provides for the maintenance of both.

In July, 1895, there were 1,826 people in the Colony. They were grouped as follows:

Farmers, 199 families. Labourers on probation, 85 families, Individual labourers not included in the foregoing, 165 persons.

The last Balance Sheet (1893) shows that the receipts and expenses were as follows:—

RECEIPTS.

From members	$5,418·40
From special gifts	3,931·20
From rent of land and farm products	3,128·52
From forest	615·02
Profit on labourers' and apprentices' work	733·44
Total ..	$13,826·58

EXPENSES.

Deficit for the preceding year ..	$745·94
Interest on debt	1.381·91
General expenses on administration	4,790·32
Religious services and special instruction	1,097·32
Ditching, road making, unproductive work, and loss in the various factories	8,092·00
Advance to Colonists over and above returns	538·29
Total ..	$16,645·78

That is a deficit for the year of $2,819·20 or $1·54 for each inhabitant, but the estimated value of the property is $533,274, and the indebtedness $43,380."

The foregoing extract is taken from the article upon Labour Colonies in the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform."

E. H. LEE, Printer, 71 Upper Parliament St., Nottingham.